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Afitu went to Tahiti, and that was the occasion of Christianity coming, for the first missionaries from Tahiti settled in Oneata.

Oneata is divided in two. One half belong to Tui Tiro; he represents the true line of the land though they are not now chiefs. They helped the brothers from Nukunuku. The Lord of Tiro is Sauturanga; that is, he abides as a chief, but does not govern the land. He is like a father to his people. His rank is that of a Sau, that means that anything that is to be done is reported to him. If anything is to be taken to Lakemba, it will be told him at his house; if he does not approve, it will not be taken. If he goes to bathe [after his own installation] a pig will be slaughtered for the bathing. The Lord of Oneata would report to him were anything to be taken to Lakemba, Tui Tiro would say, "Very good, take something good." Tui Tiro would not report to Tui Oneata.

There is a title of Vakavanua in Oneata. Whoever is chief is the Envoy to Lakemba. Oneata is related to Nukunuku. It is related to the Levukans of Lakemba; with Matuku also, apparently because Levuka and Matuku are related. The people of Wainggore and of Vanua Mbalavu are connected lands (*vanua vata*) because the Oneatans took part in the siege of Nambavatu. Some women of Oneata were carried off from Kendekende in Lakemba by the people of Nakorotumbu; hence a relationship between Oneata and Nakorotumbu.

The priest clan of Oneata is *tauvu* to the clan of Nayanggona in Mualevu. (See p. 199.)

FOREIGN RELATIONS OF LAKEMBA

The relations of Lakemba with the great states of Mbau and Thakaundrove are obscured by natural tendency of men to exalt their own country, and to suppress a past inferiority. The truth must be gathered from incidents of history, the opinions of Europeans, and the frankness of a few Lauans.

The common view among Lakembans nowadays is that there were four lands (*vanua*) or states (*matanitu*) of old; four lands, that is, which lead, which know the ways of nobles. They are, in order of their importance, Mbau, Rewa, and Thakaundrove, which are much on an equality, and Lakemba. Rewa is sometimes omitted because Lakemba and Rewa were not acquainted. Everywhere outside Lau only the first three are mentioned. Neither European authorities nor Joshua reckon Lakemba among the great states. The truth is Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Lakemba were related through their nobility and were lands that had intercourse of which the goods passed from one to the other. They were with Rewa lands of much ceremonial.

Apparently in the early days Lakemba and Lauthala held intercourse. Lauthala was once an important state. Lakemba also held intercourse with Vuna of old; the relations with Mbau developed later. The chief of Vuna says, "Lakemba are men here" (are subject to this country).

It seems probable that it was as the successor of Vuna that Thakaundrove entered into relations with Lakemba, since Niumataiwalu's mother was a lady of Vuna but he himself married a lady of Thakaundrove, and from

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that time on there are no more ladies of Vuna in the pedigrees. It is uncertain whether it was Vuna or Thakaundrove that "took Lakemba to Mbau"; or whether Lakemba entered into relations with Mbau directly.

Thakaundrove ladies were brought to Lakemba as wives for Lakemban nobles. It is said that Lakemban ladies were taken to Thakaundrove, but no concrete instance could be given, except that of the wife of the late Tui Thakau. When a canoe came from Thakaundrove some fifty years ago the women of Lakemba used to attire themselves exceedingly well, for in those days the nobles of Thakaundrove were very tall and "the objects of our coquetry"; now they are small men. Their capital, Somosomo, "is withered; perhaps because of parricide" (at least one chief of Thakaundrove buried his father alive). The people of Lakemba, not the Lord of Naiau, gave the *tama* to Tui Thakau when he came; but they did not do it sincerely unless his mother was a Lauan. One informant thinks Lakemba was afraid of Thakaundrove because it was a strong land, and that is why Lakemba made feasts for them.

Lakemba was, with Thakaundrove, "the hand that takes stuff to Mbau (*linga ni yau ki Mbau*)." Lakemba used regularly to take gifts to Mbau and received nothing in return. This was explained by saying that Mbau and Lakemba are kin, that Mbau is "sacred blood," that is senior branch, in relation to Lakemba, as the Mbauans are descendants of Niumataiwalu. The story is cited that Thakombau refused to drink kava until the cup had been taken to the Tui Naiau who was in Yandrana. When the Sau or High Chief died, Lakemba would ask Mbau to approve of his successor. The people give the *tama* salutation to the Vunivalu or principal chief of Mbau and his true sons; even the Tui Naiau does so for the Vunivalu. For the Vunivalu only, they hold the ceremony called "calling on one another" at his arrival. If the Vunivalu came to Lakemba, the Tui Naiau would send to Lau for a large double canoe. Formerly ladies were taken to Mbau to be the wives of the Vunivalu or some other nobleman. It is said that when a Mbauan noble came to Lakemba, the women were hidden for fear he should take them by force. No great lady of Mbau married a Lakemban until Uluilakemba II married Andi Temumu, and then there was some opposition. Ratu Finau, his son, is "great sister's son" to Mbau; if he goes to Mbau, he can fly a pennant from his masthead. At the present day the Lauans are looked down upon in Mbau .

The Lord of Naiau presents whale's teeth (*tauri tambua*) only to Mbau, Thakaundrove, and Rewa. It is considered improper to do so for Kandavu. Lakemba only dances for the Chief of Mbau and the chief of Thakaundrove; and there was much grumbling when they were ordered to dance for the Kandavu people and to take off their dancing dresses to them. When the

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648 Lakembans go to Mbau they hold their potlatch (*sōlevu*) indoors, while others hold it outdoors.

Totoya did not "turn quite" to Lakemba; it was not subject in any way, but only "acquainted" with Lakemba. It came to Lakemba in Christian times because Vuetasau, eldest son of Malani, the second Lord of Naiau, was related to Totoya (his father's father's mother was of Totoya). Until after Christianity was introduced, no wars were conducted against Moala and Matuku.

648 167 Tonga and Lakemba are related. Many Lakembans settled in Tonga some time ago. The following is related:

> One woman of Mbengga called Waitha was brought to Lakemba to be the wife of the Lord of Tumbou. Their daughter was called Sungu. Sungu went to Tonga in the days, it is thought, when the clan of Thekena was chief. She married a Tongan chief, Tui Tufu, and had a son who took the name of Taifisi. The Taifisi now lives in Mataika in Vavau. Sungu was a fine woman and passed from one noble family to another, and when she died the nobles came together and built her a vault. Her brother, Wakafutu, settled in Koulo in Sapai. He was a strong man and was made chief and took the title of Tui Tumbou. If a man of Tumbou who has not been installed as Lord of Tumbou, goes to Koulo the kava faces the chief of Koulo; but if the Lord of Tumbou of Lakemba goes there he is first. When the nobles of Lakemba are angry they say to the people of Tumbou, "Shut up you are Tongans"; but that is not so; they are Fijians who went to Tonga. Tui Soso, the chief of Nukunuku, went over at the same time with elders of Vakano, and changed his name to Tui Vakano. He lived in Nukunuku in Great Tonga. Wathiwathi folk also went over to Tonga. There are also people of the clan of Narewandamu in Tonga; their names are: Ranjike, Vunivalu, Tui Lakemba (in Ofu, Vavau; he is a great noble in Tonga), Ndai, Mbalei, Ravuravu. They rose by being brave or hard workers in the fields. At the present day men of the families of Taifisi and Tui Vakano stand at the kava of the inauguration of the King of Tonga with blackened faces, wearing turbans, and carrying clubs, all which apparel is not Tongan. (Cf. 2, p. 428, 1921.) Formerly the young men went to Tonga to get tattooed.

The intercourse between Lakemba and Tonga is still active though nothing to compare with the old days when scarcely a week went by without a canoe coming in from Tonga. The Lakembans have many relatives in Tonga as the pedigrees show; many have Tongan blood in them, and many Lakembans are settled in Tonga.

Tongans come to Lakemba more freely. There was hardly a time when there were not two or three in Lakemba. They are burdensome guests, for they bring little and carry away much. They are sometimes brought over to teach new dances and anthems. The Lord of Tumbou claims that Lakemba is of higher rank (*turanga*) than Tonga.

434 439 Journeys are usually undertaken for the purpose of obtaining food or goods by potlatches, exchange, or begging. Lakemba people formerly went to the Southern Islands to exchange food for mats, canoes, and kava bowls. They also got mats from Moala and Totoya in exchange for painted bark cloth (*ngatu*) and oil. An informant says,

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INSTALLATION OF THE CHIEF OF THITHIA

The following account is given of the installation of a chief of Thithia:

Mambula install the chief; they decide who shall be chief, whether Ngoneulu or Nggitawa, or another. Then they tie on his arm some bark cloth, that he may stay four days in the house, after which he goes to bathe. When the kava ceremony of the High Chief is held all the villages are emptied of their inhabitants to prepare the kava and make a feast. The chief sits by the door with a scarf on his arm. The other people sit outside in two rows. At the other end stands the kava bowl on the Green. The women and children are away in the bush lest one should shout or cry. The kava is strained and poured out. There are two cup bearers, the Lord of the Kava and the Lord of Fresh Water. The cup bearers bring the kava to the chief. As they walk up the people clap their hands twice with the fingers tip to tip and once with the palms crossed. If a man claps wrong, or laughs, or shouts, he is fined; the fine for that village is to pull up a coconut palm without breaking a single root or leaf, to hang crabs on the roots and carry the whole to the house of Tui Thithia. Each time they clap with hands crossed the cup bearers put one foot down; they do not cross their legs. The Tui Thithia drinks, then the cup bearers return to their seats, keeping time to the clapping as in coming up. Then the clapping ceases. The herald drinks next. If the Tui Thithia is of the Nggitawa clan a man of Turangaulu drinks next to the herald; then comes Tui Mambu or Mambula of the clan Mambula; the fifth is a nobleman of Vunisea; the sixth is a chief of some village; the seventh of another village. When Tui Thithia bathes it is the duty of the Tarukuans to make a feast as "opener of the door"; another later is "bathing feast." At daybreak they are on the Green; they sit in the doorway, the first man holding the top leaf of a banana tree. This is the plate for the feast. Then they withdraw.

If a nobleman of Turangaulu drinks as Tui Thithia, a Takala is appointed from Vunisea, an Envoy to Lakemba from Nggitawa, a Vakavanua from Turangaulu. When the Tui Thithia dies the Takala becomes Tui Thithia and so each one moves up. This statement can only be taken as an example of what might or ought to happen. In actual practice nearly all the chiefs have been of Turangaulu, but the Takala has always succeeded the Tui Thithia, except recently when Takala has continued under several Tui Thithia.

The duties of the Vakavanua are to collect feasts and to sit down to receive them.

INSTALLATION OF THE TUI LEVUKA

The most powerful chief of Mbau is the Vunivalu. He is installed as such by the people of Kamba; but this installation is of small importance compared with his installation as Tui Levuka which is performed by the people of Levuka, and is a thing of great prestige (7, pp. 72, 73).

The Levukans brought with them to Mbau a big sheet of bark cloth. A week before the ceremony the people cut firewood, drew water, and gathered leaves for plates so that every one being provided with necessities might remain indoors after the ceremony. The kava ceremony is very difficult. . . .

All the Levukans wore turbans; the other people might not wear a turban or any ornament on their arms. If a Levukan should see a man wearing a turban or other ornament he would at once remove it. There were three men making kava. When the cup was full the cup bearer held it level with his shoulders and crossed his legs as he went; the people clapped their hands keeping time with his feet so that the setting down of his feet and the clapping should not be out of time. The chief had a

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sash on one arm; he may not take the cup with that hand or he will be fined. When he has had his cup the chiefs of the various villages drink also. At Thakombau's installation Ndaulakemba and Metuisela's father each took one end of a sash, folded it, and tied it on the Vunivalu's arm, saying, "Let the bark cloth be tied to be the cloth of your food, the cloth of your riches, also reverence him since he is your lord." Then those who made the kava retired. The two men then brought four hundred whale's teeth; they walked up to the chief carrying them, and half way each crossed over to the other side. The chief held out his arms sideways and they hung whale's teeth upon them till he could no longer bear the weight, then he put them down. Then they loaded his arms again. The nobles of Mbau took off their clothes to those who made the kava. Each man got one bale.

On the day on which the chief drinks until the drinking is over it is forbidden to anyone to go out of doors or for any child to cry. This lasts four nights. After fetching water the men come to the house and call out, "Water!" then the people inside open the door, and one or two big jars are brought in; then the door is shut so that no one may go out. Kava is made at the beginning of the night, then again at cockcrow. This is repeated on four successive nights. During those nights the Vunivalu and Ndaulakemba sleep out of doors. All those nights no lights are allowed out of doors, and if any canoe come in sight the men go out and seize it. That is why the kava is feared, for any one caught outside is fined. At the end of the four nights the chief bathes; then they fire off muskets so that the whole land may hear that he has bathed; then all the people are set free and anyone who wishes to come to Mbau by sea or land may come. When the chief of Mbau was about to bathe, the men of Soso and of Lasakau used to go secretly to some village and kill a man for the bathing. Of old they had men for the bathing feast. The body was offered up to the chiefs of Levuka, baked and eaten.

OFFERINGS

Food and manufactured articles are continually and on all occasions being offered up with prescribed ceremonials. The general term for making a presentation of food or other articles is "to make a feast, to make goods" (*vala mangiti, vala i yau*). The term *vakathambo* refers more particularly to the act and formula of offering up. This ceremonial is the foundation of all Fijian ceremonial.

If it is a ceremonial gift, the person to whom it is offered sits cross-legged at the upper end of the room, if it is indoors, with his herald at his side. Those making the presentation come and sit with legs crossed near the door; their herald crawls forward and sits down cross-legged opposite the recipient, and lays down the gift (some old men kneel with knees apart and sit on their heels); the herald claps his hands with palms crossed, perhaps five times, bends forward and, laying both hands on the gift, says,

"Hm, a small [names the article] I am touching here [again names the article] for you the gentleman of So-and-so. It is well known to you that our land is a poor land, a land of famine, where not a tree grows. Just what we have found we have brought. If it is small bear with it. My speech is lengthy, let it be offered up and emerge."[11]

[11] The last sentence is fixed; in Fijian it runs: *"Sa mbalambalatu a nggou vosa ka sosora thake tu yani ka tuuuru."* *Sosora* is a ceremonial word; *soraki* is Rewan for *vakathambori*.

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In presenting a feast sometimes the custom of Moala and the West is now followed, the procedure exactly as in other offerings (p. 63). But the Lauan custom is to put it down and say, "It is a small feast," and so on, to which the others answer:

"It is enough; thanks for the trouble." Following is a description of a small feast presented in this manner to the District Chief of Kambara, Tui Namuka, and myself by the people of Oneata:

When the puddings were finished they were wrapped into parcels. What was left over was eaten by the cooks. The feast was put into baskets and brought to the house where we lodged. As the bearers came up they said, *"O, oa!"* set down the baskets before the door, and squatted down outside.

Our herald moved up towards the door and turning to us said, "I will call out the feast for you, sirs" (*Au sa vakamangiti saka yani*), then clapping three times, he sang out, *"A, mangiti,"* dwelling long on the last syllable but one.

Then all clapped and said, *"Amunduo,"* clapped again and said, *"Amunduo,"* then clapped three times.

Our party then replied, "Thanks for the love and the trouble."

The Oneatans said, "Be gracious, the land is famished; there is nothing to be found; as much as we have found we have warmed up." Then they got up and departed. Those who attended on us divided it according to the directions of the herald; one man counted the food, reckoned out the shares, and ranged the baskets; this is called *waru lau*, to stand and count. When all was ready the herald said to him, "Touch it for us" (*tambaka mai*); whereupon he touched each share, calling out, "For London. For Kambara. For the Namuka cutter."

At great feasts in which the whole of Lakemba takes part, besides the herald are officials called Tui Ra (Lords of Below); in other parts they are called Tui Rara (Lords of the Green). There are two in Natokalau, Tui Ra of Yandrana and Tui Ra of Vakano; one in Navuaira, Tui Ra of Waitambu, the herald being the second. The duties of the Lords of the Green and of the herald tend to go together; they refer matters to one another. Lords of the Green are they who assign contributions (*a i lesilesi ni mangiti*), and decide the amount of the feast; they vie with one another in quantity, and the chiefs of Tumbou hearken to them. The Lord of the Green of Waitambu fixes the amount for Navuaira; and the Lord of the Green of Yandrana, for Natokalau. They sit at the lower end of the house, discuss the quantity and inform the chief. If they decide it will be one thousand from each clan it is difficult for the chief to alter it. They also divide the feast.

If the Lord of the Green of Yandrana is absent, the Lord of the Green of Vakano fixes the amount. If it is a state affair (*ka vaka vanua*), if a sovereign state (*matanitu*) comes, such as Thakaundrove or Mbau, and they make a very big feast, two Lords of the Green only are called, from Waitambu for Navuaira, from Yandrana for Natokalau. The Lord of the Green of Vakano decides things in his own village; he is Lord of the Green to Nasangalau, and if Tumbou proper are assembled as kinsmen, and the High Chief is not there, the Lord of the Green of Vakano may speak: he is Lord of the Green to Tui Tumbou. The people of Yandrana claim that their Lord of the Green takes precedence of all the Lords of the Green in

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PREPARATIONS

When assistance was required from other tribes, a whale's tooth (*tauri-tambua*) would be sent. If the proposal were accepted, the whale's tooth was kept; if not, it was broken (*ndiri*). If the enemy heard of this he would offer the breaker of the tooth a bigger present to crush (*mbikai*) the first whale's teeth, and the two of them conspire against the instigator. When the war was over the people who had sent the whale's teeth held a festival (*solevu*) for the people who had fought for them.

The chief weapon was the club (*malungu*): the type that almost alone survives at the present day is that which imitates the shape of a musket, and is the 14th figured by Williams (18, opp. p. 77). Nos. 1 and 7 are *manda* or straight clubs; Nos. 2 and 4 are *totokia;* Nos. 8, 10, 12 are *yamatha;* No. 9 the Western type of *nggata,* and No. 11 the Lauan; No. 17 is also a *nggata*; No. 13 is a *kiakava.*

I have seen no spears in Lakemba, and could not discover any charms to make them lucky. The old word for bow (*ndakai*) has come to mean musket, and the old bow has to be distinguished by the epithet "pulling." It seems to have disappeared entirely. The warriors painted their faces black with soot.

FIGHTING

European witnesses confirm the impression given by the narratives that there were very few pitched battles. Primarily hostilities were carried on by treachery. A siege consisted mostly in sitting down before a place and uttering defiance; storming was rare. One Lauan thinks the Tongans were much braver. Fijians say warfare was active at night, when a man would go alone to surprise and kill his enemy. Such a man was called "ant's tooth" (*mbati kandi*).

Ambushes were called nets. The besieged having dug a tunnel and there put their women and children, allowed their enemy to come, then killed them. They would also make an offering (*i mandrali*) to the spirit concerning the white fence of the besiegers. The god would come up (*thambe*) and enter the priest and say, "Go, if you go tonight to attack the white fence I shall go with you, and you will be successful."

In the many stories of war I have which are not worth publishing these mighty men, heroes (*nggangga*) seem to be the pivot of the battle; if the hero is killed, his side collapses.

When a man slew an enemy he should give the battle cry of his clan (*i tokathavu*). The cry of Katumbalevu was *Mbukakanasinga,* Fire and Sun, or *Mbuka i singa.* The Sun for a fire, because, it is said, the god Tokairambe

1: Hocart Y-5 (ca. 1920) 1929

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MOALA, TOTOYA, AND MATUKU ISLANDS

GENERAL RELATIONS

Moala, Totoya, and Matuku constituted a group of islands which "stood by itself"; they were subject to neither Mbau nor Lakemba. They formerly "went to" Mbau, but "were not turned very much" that way; and went only as relatives, not as subjects. However, an article in the Native Gazette (11, Feb., p. 13, 1891) represents Mbau as making requisitions (*lala*) in Moala, and a writer in the same journal (op. cit. 4, p. 47, 1897) traces the origin of one whole group of Fijian chiefs to Moala. He says:

> I will also relate to you a Fijian tradition concerning the origin of some of the great chiefs of Fiji. The name of that family is Ndelaindaku. The various states where they are found and their ranks are as follows: In Mbau the Vunivalu is a scion from Ndelaindaku, in Thakaundrove the Tui Thakau, in Rewa the Roko Tui Ndreketi, in Mbua the Tui Mbua, in Mathuata the Tui Mathuata, in Lakemba the Roko Sau, in Nakelo the Tui Nakelo, in Namata the Roko Tui Namata, in Namara the Roko Tui Veikau, in Nasavusavu the Tui Nasavusavu, in Natewa the Vunivalu, in Wainikeli Roko Tuei, in Namuka (Mathuata) the Time, in Mualevu the Tui Mavana, in Nasangalau the Tui Nasangalau.
>
> There are other scions of Ndelaindaku in the various lands of Fiji that are by descent small nobility, and there are also many who are by descent people of the land (*kawa lewe ni vanua*). Now this noble family is said to originate entirely from Moala; that is why those lands are still related to Moala. The people of Moala are wont to carry out in honor of those great noble lands "the opening of the path," "the setting foot on land," the "visiting" at the various installments of chiefs. Moala people have only just returned from Mbau after visiting the Roko Tui Tailevu [i. e., the Yunivalu of Mbau].

This writer distinguishes another noble line, called the Ratu, who originate from Nakauvandra; unfortunately his account is confused with modern theories about Malaya and Melanesians, but he states (11, p. 78, 1897) that the Ndelaindaku clan is in Moala.

Totoya is the land of origin (*vanua vu*) of the nobles of Moala: they are called Kai Lomanikoro, or "Men of the middle of the town." Their line split and spread first to Moala, whence come the great nobles of Naroi, then to Matuku. The writer whom I have quoted says that Ravuvu or Ravouvou of Mburotu, son of Tui Mburotu, was shipwrecked in Totoya. After staying some time he went on to Moala where he married Raluve of Moala. One of the party went to build Nayavutoka in Lakemba to be his village.

Another version is that Ndaunisai, the youngest of the brothers, came from Nakauvandra, settled in Kambara, but owing to the lack of land they sailed in two canoes, one to Keteithake in Moala, the other to Keteira in Totoya. In Keteira they set up a big mound (*yavu*) called Kau Kambara.

2: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

circumcision, ordeals, dancing, license, and distribution of wealth. In 1884 the Nanga ceremonies were no longer performed.

Moto's is the only known evidence of the occurrence of the Nanga outside the area mapped by Fison. No stone enclosures such as those described by Fison were found in Lau. (For further information concerning the Nanga see Brewster, 1, pp. 93-95.)

Luve ni Wai

The Luve ni Wai (Offspring of the Water) is a secret cult found in many parts of Fiji. (See Brewster, 1, pp. 89, 222-225; Williams, 27, vol. 1, pp. 237-239.) It is one medium by which individuals, disgruntled at the new social order, can gain social prestige in the community. The colonial government has attempted to suppress the cult, hence the natives usually deny knowledge of it. One form of the cult is practiced today in southern Lau. A few informants gave the following account of it.

> The cult consists of a few young men, each of whom has demonstrated his ability to procure and hold a personal guardian god who supplies him with mana. The mana is expressed in the form of a special gift, such as the ability to create new dance forms or medicines, to predict the future, interpret the past, or discover new members for the cult. The guardian gods called *luve ni wai* are usually the ghosts of departed ancestors, not spirits, and are today called "devils."

Some informants say they dwell in and near the water, others say they live on land, in water, stars, sky, in fish and trees. Ndengei, Tutumatua, Ndauthina, Ndakuwangga, Rayawa, and Vuthurongayau are important *luve ni wai*.

The following tale is told about Ndakuwangga, the shark god, who became a *luve ni wai*:

> Ndaunisai was the father of Wangganouancua, who came with Ndaunisai from Viti Levu to Kambara. Wanggapouanoua went to Mbenau Island at Taveuni. When the people of the island were hauling a canoe from the shore to the water, Wangganouanoua hid in a hollow tree trunk because he wanted to show the people he was a god. While the god was in the tree trunk, it was used as a roller for the canoe. When Wangganouanoua went aboard the canoe and told the men he had been inside the hollow trunk, they called him Ndakuwangga. He entered a shark. The people began to pray to this god of the shark and called it *luve ni wai* because it was from the water. Since then the shark had been tabu to the Taveuni people. The Kambara people do not eat the shark because the father of this *luve ni wai* came to Kambara.

According to informants, Luve ni Wai rites are carried on secretly in the bush at night. The leader and the members of the cult oil their bodies and dress in ceremonial tapa and wreaths. They take kava to the bush, sit in a kava circle, and prepare the drink ceremonially. The first cup is poured on the ground as an offering to the gods. The leader drinks first. The men call the gods by means of prayers. When the gods come, each enters and possesses his votary. While possessed, the men are insensitive to physical pain. They jump, dance, and club one another.

3: Thompson.E-5(1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

FOREWORD

000 LONELY AND ISOLATED in eastern Fiji, Kambara rises abruptly out of the bright Pacific, a few square miles of limestone grown with primeval forest. Here bushy-haired, brown natives dwell in huts of thatch and wrest a living from the spirit-haunted jungle and the shark-infested sea. They work and play, feel and think in a vivid world of their own—a hazardous world where the struggle for existence is keen, land is poor and food is scarce.

131 Kambara is one of the southern islands of the Lau archipelago
177 of Fiji (see maps, facing pp. 1 and 21). On a large map of the South Seas the Lau islands are represented by a line of dots running north and south along the eastern margin of Fiji, about one-third of the distance between Viti Levu and the Tongan archipelago. This small isolated group has been in contact with western civilization for over a century. Although the native culture has been altered considerably through western influence, no white man has ever gained a foothold in southern Lau, and the natives have retained ownership of all the land.

177 There are three great modern influences at work in Lau: the missionary and teacher, the government official, and the
[797] trader. Christian missionaries landed on Lakemba in central Lau in 1835 and slowly their teachings spread. When Fiji
[648] was annexed by Great Britain in 1874, Lau became part of the British Crown Colony. Later, trading cutters occasionally
177 called here for coconut oil, trochas shell and bêche-de-mer, a
439 sea slug relished by the Chinese. As the market price of copra rose during the first quarter of this century, coconut plantations were developed. Copra was exchanged for western

[p. vi is blank]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

133 the jungle and lagoon are peopled with spirits, frequently
361 hostile and malicious. Hence the two pairs of villages are isolated from each other. In the past they were frequently
621 at war. Tokalau has long been the ranking village on the
178 west side and Tanggu ranking on the east. Today their
578 antagonism is expressed in frequent quarrels and rivalry for wealth and social prestige. These villages are not old. They
[712] are composed of aggregations of hamlets formerly located inland and protected by hill fortresses. In the middle of the nineteenth century, when the elimination of warfare due to the introduction of Christianity made protection unnecessary, several adjacent hamlets formed a village which retained the traditional jealousies and feuds of its constituents.

131 On a clear day seventeen islands are visible from the highest
133 point on Kambara, 470 feet above the sea. One can even
823 discern the reef of uninhabited Wangava, home of the spirits
776 of illness, about three miles to the northeast. Wangava is a limestone island, rich in timber, turtles, shellfish, and garden land. It belongs to the village of Tanggu on Kambara. To the southeast, about seven miles away, is the little uninhabited island of Marambo, home of the "windwomen", twin spirits who assume the form of beautiful maidens to disturb men in their sleep. Marambo was formed when the devil dropped the hearth stone from his canoe through the opening for the steering paddle. Here the men of Undu plant gardens and fish for lobster. And away to the northwest, a speck on the
131 horizon, is another Kambaran possession—the tiny uninhabited
133 island of Tavunasithi, owned by Tokalau. The nearest inhabited islands are Kambara's fertile colonies to the northwest,[1] Namuka of limestone and Komo of volcanic formation. The
[648] people of Kambara apparently acquired these islands by destroying the early inhabitants in warfare. According to the
[173] genealogies, Namuka was settled by colonists from the east side of Kambara, and Komo by colonists from the west side. Komo lies on the canoe route from Kambara to the large

[1] [Northeast according to map on page xxvi, category 116.—Analyst]

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

the first time in Fiji. By strategy[13] Maafu made himself master of the Lau group and gradually extended his power to the islands of the Koro sea and most of Vanua Levu. 175

Maafu's only serious rival in Fiji was Thakombau (pronounced Thá-kom-bau), the high chief of Mbau, a chiefdom centering on the island of Mbau off the east coast of Viti Levu (not to be confused with Mbua on Vanua Levu). At the beginning of the nineteenth century Mbau had been merely one of a number of petty, hostile Fijian chiefdoms like Lakemba, but with the introduction of firearms and western military tactics, Mbau had gradually conquered all her rival groups and become the most powerful state in Fiji. The Mbauans under Thakombau and the Tongans under Maafu now stood face to face.

At this time, however, European trade interests in Fiji began to be felt in native affairs. The constant bloody raids and wholesale cannibalism in Fiji were interfering seriously with foreign trade. Moreover, Thakombau was held responsible for outrages against the life and property of American citizens, for which the United States demanded an indemnity of $45,000. Desperate between the Tongan menace and the accumulation of debt, Thakombau turned to Great Britain. He began to negotiate with the British consul in Fiji for the cession of Fiji to Great Britain with 200,000 acres of land, on condition that the debt to America be paid. Annexation finally took place in 1874 when Fiji became a British Crown Colony. Meanwhile foreign trade interests forced Maafu to make peace with the Fijian chiefs in order to protect the bêche-de-mer trade on the north Vanua Levu coast. This broke Maafu's power and ended the war between the Fijians and the Tongans. It also marked the peak of Tongan influence in Fiji. 175 648 439

[13] He aided the weaker side in wars between local groups and used the victory for his own ends. He secured the backing of the missionaries by promising that conquered groups would be forced to become Christian. He obtained credit from European traders, who had settled in Fiji, by agreeing to force vanquished enemies to repay them in coconut oil, tortoise shell and bêche-de-mer.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

quiring the hamlets to consolidate into coast villages, which become the basic units of a new political system, the colonial government, while retaining the kinship structure of ranked clans in Lauan society, shifted the emphasis to some extent from kinship to geographic political groups. Although the basic allegiance of an individual is still toward his clan, a feeling of local village consciousness has developed and has led to the cooperation in communal enterprises of larger groups of individuals than heretofore. The expansion of the natives' social horizon has prepared the way for the acceptance of a broader view toward human relationships.

The British colonial policy in Fiji is based on the principle of indirect rule. Under this principle the old native system has been elaborated to accommodate the needs of colonial administration, but has retained its basic structure. Old political divisions have been retained and local native chiefs have been given colonial political appointments so that the native social system would be disturbed as little as possible. The governor of the colony and other ranking government officials have been placed above the high chiefs in the native ranking system. Over all is His Majesty the King. The political structure is still reinforced by old native ceremonies such as the presentation and exchange of gifts, kava drinking, and dancing. These ceremonies are used not only for native chiefs but also for British colonial officials.

The government of the colony is administered by a governor, who is assisted by an executive and a legislative council. The executive council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the attorney general, the colonial treasurer, the secretary for native affairs, and the secretary for Indian affairs, and two elected members. The legislative council consists of the governor as president, the colonial secretary, the colonial treasurer, the attorney general, the secretaries for Indian and native affairs, the directors of medical services, education, agriculture, public works, the comptroller of

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

648 customs, the commissioner of lands, the inspector general of the constabulary, the postmaster general, six elected European members, three elected Indian members, and three Fijian representatives. The three Fijian representatives on the legislative council are selected by the governor out of six nominees from the great council of chiefs. This body is composed of representatives from the provincial councils of Fiji and chiefs nominated by the governor or by the secretary for native affairs. It meets every two years to advise the governor and the legislative council.

635 648 Fiji is divided into eighteen magisterial districts or provinces.[18] These provinces (except Lau) are presided over by European district commissioners. The district commissioner works with the native provincial head, who is a local high chief and bears the recent political title of *roko*. The *roko* is in charge of the native affairs of the province. The native administration of each province is in the hands of a provincial council, presided over by the secretary for native affairs and composed of representatives from the district councils and certain native government officials. The provincial council sits annually.

634 Each province is composed of a number of districts. The districts frequently demark minor historic political divisions headed by a local chief. Each district is administered by a native government official entitled *mbuli*. The *mbuli* is usually a local chief. He presides over a district council composed of local chiefs and village headmen in the district. The district council sits monthly. It controls the domestic affairs of each district and appoints the village headmen. Each district is composed of a number of villages. A village headman (entitled *turanga ni koro*) is in charge of each village.

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[18] The provinces are Suva, Navua-Serua, Nandronga-Tholo West, Nandi, Lautoka, Mba, Ra, Rewa, Tholo East, Tholo North, Kandavu, Makongai, Lomaiviti, Mbua, Mathuata, Savusavu, Taveuni, and Lau. Most of these provinces roughly demark sub-culture areas in which cultural and dialectic differences are frequently apparent.

3:Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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622
177 of-Tokalau" and that of a clan (Nanggara) in Tanggu holds the title of "chief-of-Tanggu". These titles today are honorary, and we were unable to determine their former functions.

648
631
178 When we consider the stratified, autocratic type of social organization found in Lau and other parts of Fiji, we must conclude that the British colonial administration used the only practical means of applying the principle of indirect rule in governing the natives. There was only one way to retain the basic structure of the native social system, and that was to take advantage of the hierarchy of ranked clans under the high chief, and dovetail the colonial administration to it. The rule of chiefs found in eastern Fiji fitted particularly well into the British political organization.

There is, however, a conflict between the two systems inasmuch as one is based on a combination of kinship and geographic groups, and the other on geographic groups only. One practical means of resolving this conflict was gradually to throw the emphasis in administration from kinship to geographical bonds. As we have seen, such a change was already taking place in Lau and other parts of Fiji. Such a change was also occurring in western and central Polynesia with the development of the island chiefdoms,[21] and was accelerated by the introduction of gunpowder and western military tactics. The administrative problem was to keep the process from being accelerated to the extent of causing irreparable injury to the native system. With the process went an increasing emphasis on personality rather than rank. One gained social prestige no longer mainly by birth into a kinship unit, but by personality or status in a geographic unit. Hence a gradual breakdown in the power of the chiefs whose power was based mainly on rank was unavoidable. The officials of the geographic unit depended to an increasing extent on personality. The administrative problem was to choose the

[21] See E. G. Burrows, "Breed and Border in Polynesia," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 41, 1939, pp. 1-21.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

native officials not only for ability but also for rank, in order to prevent this shift from taking place too rapidly. The success, therefore, of the system of indirect rule in Fiji lies mainly in the wise selection of native government officials.

GOSSIP HOLDS THE WHIP

Tukutuku e rongo malua
Rongo ki Viwa thatha vakambuka.

Only whisper a thing in Viwa
And it resounds like a roaring fire.
Fijian proverb.[22]

Social life on Kambara is still regulated by an elaborate code of etiquette based on rank. We have seen that this code is learned by children while they are very young and is strictly observed even today from about the age of seven years throughout life. The social sanction behind the code is public opinion. Being "talked about" is the one thing a native cannot stand. If he is ostracized even for a short time by the group he is so overwhelmed with shame that he cannot function.

I witnessed this force at work in Tokalau. One morning our native boy, Ravu, could not work, and he sat morosely with his head in his hands. Finally he told me his trouble. In courting a young widow in the village, Ravu, who was a handsome and charming youth, had incurred the displeasure of Malakai, who had warned him several times to leave the girl alone since she was to marry one of Malakai's relatives on Komo. Ravu had not heeded the warning. The night before Malakai had threatened to incite the young men of the village, who were always jealous of a competitor, to attack Ravu in a gang and whip him with stinging stripped coconut leaves. The affair was being talked about in the village and Ravu had lost face. He was so ashamed and frightened that he could not even eat until peace had been established with Malakai and he was accepted again by the community.

[22] A. B. Brewster, *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, Philadelphia, 1922, p. 259.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

576 When the native code of etiquette deals with the sacredness
643 of chieftainship it is upheld by the tabu system. The tabu
784 system serves to protect the sacred "mana" of the ancestor gods and their direct descendants, the chiefs. High Lauan chiefs are still surrounded by strict tabus which regulate their contact with the world to the minutest detail. For instance, in the presence of the high chief, even today, no native of lower rank is allowed to stand erect. If possible, a person sits crosslegged, bowed, and silent at some distance from him. If it is necessary to walk, a person bends almost to a right angle and backs out of the chief's presence.

576 Infringement of the sacred tabus was formerly punished by
784 death. Illness is believed automatically to follow the breaking
753 of less sacred tabus. We have seen that a nursing mother is not allowed to have sexual intercourse, because if she does her child will be unable to walk upright. If a pregnant woman
[842] or her husband eats fish which has been cut in small pieces the body of the new born infant will be afflicted with sores.

576 The native code of etiquette and the tabu system still cover
784 many of the judicial needs of the Lauans. Although a break
671 of the sacred tabus is no longer punished by death, the tabu
● 648 system is still upheld to some extent, and public opinion is as strong as ever. The native tabu system, however, does not encompass the new moral code introduced by the missionaries and upheld by the government, nor is it effective as a sanction for government regulations. Although some of these innovations, especially those connected with Christianity, have become a part of the accepted code of behavior and hence are backed by public opinion, there are many which have not been so wholeheartedly endorsed by the group. To cover the needs of the new political regime a new system of law and its enforcement has been devised by the government. It supplements the native code and deals chiefly with maladjustments which arise from the introduction of new regulations.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
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Offenses against the native regulations, which control such aspects of communal life as village planning, sanitation, house building, and gardening, are tried in special district and provincial courts for natives only. The district court for natives has jurisdiction over natives of a district and is presided over by a native stipendiary magistrate. Petty offenses against native regulations are tried in it.[23] Appeal from the district court may be made to the provincial court for natives. This court has jurisdiction over a magisterial province. The provincial court is composed of the district commissioner of the province sitting with the native stipendiary magistrate, and has minor criminal and civil powers over the natives and can hear petitions for divorce from natives.[24] Appeal from the native provincial court may be made to the supreme court of the colony.

These native courts are supplements to the administration of justice in the provinces. Throughout the colony justice is administrated by means of a supreme court and various district courts of summary jurisdiction.[25]

Justice in the colony is enforced by the constabulary which consists of over two hundred police officers divided into twenty-six detachments.[26] None of this force is stationed in southern Lau. Natives sentenced to serve a jail term are taken from the southern islands to the jail at Lakemba. A

[23] The district court deals with offenses involving a maximum penalty of 40 shillings or imprisonment for two months, and in civil matters up to the value of 80 shillings.

[24] The actual decision in divorce cases is, however, made by the chief justice of the colony.

[25] The supreme court is presided over by the chief justice. It has the same jurisdiction as that of His Majesty's high court of justice in England. It is also a court of equity and court of probate. The supreme court has four sessions per year in Suva and also a circuit. Appeal may be made in certain cases to the judicial committee of the privy council.

The district courts of summary jurisdiction, both criminal and civil, are presided over by the district commissioner. On the criminal side he has the power to inflict a maximum penalty of six months' imprisonment, and on the civil side to deal with claims of value less than £50.

[26] In 1936 the constabulary was composed of 18 Europeans, 88 Indians, and 111 Fijians. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 56.)

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE FOR EXISTENCE

BLOOD AND SOIL

Nonggui tau,
Solia nonggu yau.

My friend.
Give me some property.[27]

423 IN LAU the basic landowning unit is the clan. The land is divided into three classes: garden land, village land, and bush. The natives say that according to the pre-Tongan system of tenure in Lau each hamlet owned a part of each class of land. This system is found on the island of Mothe, which is divided into sections shaped like pieces of pie, each containing bush, garden, and village land. Each section was formerly owned and occupied by a hamlet and is still owned by the same group, which is now a clan in one of the two villages of the island. After the Tongan conquest, according to informants, on some islands clan titles were established to the garden and village land only and the bush was considered free. The post-Tongan system is found on the island of Kambara.

423 One of the most important policies of the British administra-
648 tion in Fiji has been the protection of native land ownership. Before annexation, white settlers in Fiji had acquired large areas of land (about 414,615 acres) from the native chiefs, but since 1875 practically all sale of native land, except to the government for specific purposes, has been prohibited. Tenure has been granted only by leaseholds, which may extend up to 99 years for agricultural purposes. In 1936 only about one-fifth (863,211 acres) of the total area of the colony (4,523,620 acres) had been alienated by sales and leases.[28]

[27] Thomas Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, London, 1858, Vol. I, p. 118.
[28] *Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 70.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Since 1912 the native lands commission has been working on the difficult task of establishing native land titles. The native lands commission, through the native lands ordinance of 1905, is charged with the duty of ascertaining what lands in each province are the rightful and hereditary property of native Fijian owners, and whether the ownership is by clan or by some other division or sub-division of the group. The commission consists of a European chairman and two native chiefs of high rank, one of whom is Ratu Sukuna, the district commissioner of Lau.[29] When I visited Lau the commission had not yet begun work in the southern islands and native land titles had not yet been established in this area. Hence the old native system was undisturbed.

As a result of the government land policy no lands in southern Lau,[30] which offers little except copra production to encourage European settlement, have been alienated except village lots leased by trading companies in Suva for trade stores. In the area surveyed there were just three stores, one in Tokalau on Kambara, one on Namuka and one on Mothe. There were no Europeans living in southern Lau, and the only residents other than natives or half-castes found in the area surveyed were the Chinese who ran these stores and a Japanese family on Namuka.[31]

The emphasis on land laid by the land laws and the inquiries of the native lands commission have sharpened the native's evaluation of his hereditary lands. This is heightened in southern Lau by the scarcity of good garden land and the high value of native hardwoods which grow in the jungle.

[29] The members have the power to summon and examine under oath persons whom they think able to give information concerning land under investigation, and to require attendance of all persons claiming or interested in the land. The decision of the commission is final unless appeal is made within sixty days of the announcement of the decision to the governor. The lands are surveyed at the cost of the proprietary unit. By 1936 3,539,307 acres had been surveyed. (*Annual Report*, Fiji, 1936, p. 71.)

[30] The term "southern Lau" is used to denote the islands of the Lau group south of Lakemba, exclusive of the Moala group.

[31] This information, obtained in the year 1933-34, is substantiated by the 1936 census.

3: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934) 1940 OQ6 Lau OQ6
Kambara

Moreover,
because of the British policy of indirect rule, the native social 178
system of ranked clans upheld by elaborate ceremonies 182
centering in a divine high chief is the basis for the new 648 ●
political organization, and the natives have not lost their sense
of social security in spite of the modern trend away from
kinship toward geographic political units. Furthermore, the
native population here as in all parts of Fiji is increasing,
which is due in part at least to the government's systematic
campaign for the control of disease in the colony and the
promotion of sanitation and health.

The main administrative problems in Lau, as in many other parts of the Pacific, are the inevitable outgrowths of the attempt to blend two cultures—one relatively simple, the other complex—as fundamentally different as the Fijian and the western. As far as administration is concerned, the main conflicts between them are: kinship versus territorial bonds; rank versus status; and communalism versus individualism. As we have seen, these closely related conflicts may be resolved through the growing emphasis on personality. It is the rôle of the administrator in Lau to direct and control the process of change toward the development of personality in order to bridge the gulf between the two outlooks on life and, by blending the old and the new, to work slowly toward a new harmonious adjustment.

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4: Thompson E-5 (1933-1934)1938 OQ6 Lau.OQ6

American Anthropologist

NEW SERIES

VOL. 40 APRIL–JUNE, 1938 No. 2

THE CULTURE HISTORY OF THE LAU ISLANDS, FIJI[1]

By LAURA THOMPSON

THE Lau Islands form the eastern border of Fiji. Lakemba in the center of the Lau group was formerly an independent chiefdom, holding all the central and southern islands in tributary relationship. The southern islands, partly of volcanic formation,[2] partly of coral limestone,[3] comprised the chiefdom's rich hinterland. Most of them lack garden land but they produce raw materials used in making important articles of exchange. Outstanding are the hardwoods[4] used for large sailing canoes. Southern Lau supplied all Fiji and also Tonga with these vessels. The type of paper mulberry[5] used for the best barkcloth and pandanus[6] used for the finest mats are also found here, and coconut of excellent quality for oil grows on all the southern islands. Based on these resources, specialized crafts have developed on the islands, which produce the finest canoes, barkcloth, and mats in Fiji. These commodities were traded with Tonga and also collected regularly as tribute to the high chief of Lakemba, who distributed part of them to other chiefdoms in Fiji through a system of gift exchange.

Although of great importance in native economy, the southern islands have offered little to attract the white man on account of their lack of fertile soil

[1] The following study is a translation of a lecture delivered to the Ethnological Colloquium of the University of Berlin in March, 1937. In its original form this has appeared in Archiv für Anthropologie, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1937. It is part of the results of nine months field work in Fiji under a Yale University-Bishop Museum fellowship. A description of the ethnographic results of the field trip are being published as a Bishop Museum bulletin. The spelling of native words follows David Hazelwood, *A Feejeean and English Dictionary* (Vewa, Fiji, 1850). Place names follow British Admiralty charts.

I express sincere appreciation to Bernhard J. Tüting for assistance in the field and particularly for his work on the native religion.

[2] Mothe and Komo Islands.

[3] Kambara (which has a volcanic outcrop), Namuka, Oneate, Fulanga, and Ongea Islands. (Also Ono and Vatoa, the southernmost islands, which are not included in this study.)

[4] Especially vesi, called greenheart of India (*Intsia bijuga* [Colebr.] Ktze.), also ·ibau (probably *Pittosporum* Brackenridge).

[5] Masi, masi ntchina, and ndrauthoka, forms of the paper mulberry (*Broussonetia papyrifera* Vent.). The paper mulberry is found on every island but the best quality grows only on Namuka.

[6] On Fulanga, Ongea, and Wangava.

[pp 1-151 not processed]

9: Bryan N-5 (1924) 1924 OQ6 Lau OQ6

PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE LAU GROUP, FIJI.

by E. H. Bryan, Jr.

(Whitney South Sea Bird Expedition, July to October, 1924.)

Introduction.

101 [131] The Lau or Eastern Group, of Fiji, consists of about 40 islands or clusters of islets and numerous reefs, extending from S.16° 40' to S. 19° 15' and from 178° 20' W. to 179° 30' W. It constitutes [648] a frontier between Fiji and Tonga, and has in past years been the 149 scene of numerous invasions from the latter group. On several of the islands the Tongan strain is quite noticeable. The majority of 231 the islands are inhabited by an industrious people, who live on 241 262 fish, pigs, fowl, and yams, sweet potatoes, taro, and manioc and 245 bananas, which they raise extensively for local consumption. The main product of the islands is copra which is dried in quantity from the extensive groves of coconut palms. Many of the men are 322 skillful carvers, making attractive yaquona (yang-gona) bowls, combs, clubs, wooden pillows, and canoes. The women weave mats from the 285 leaves of the Pandanus, and beat out the sap wood of the paper 287 824 mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) into a bark cloth called masi, the process being called samusamu.

133 There are three types of islands in Lau, as follows: limestone, volcanic, and a combination of both. Portions of some of the islands are sandstone, but no island is completely made up of this material. The types are so distinctive that they may be identified at a glance.

The limestone islands are exceedingly rough. The material is upraised coral reef. Their surface has been eroded into sharp ridges or hummocks separating deep pot-holes with jagged-faces. The coast line includes deep bays, rugged cliffs and isolated rocks; all typically under-cut at the water's edge. This gives the smaller

13 27. VANUA MBALAVU I. is situated at the western side of the lagoon containing the Exploring Isles. (S.17° 10' to S.17° 20', and 178° 55' to 179° 04' W.) It is 14 miles long and up to 2 1/2 miles wide, with several peaks along its backbone. The N.W.portion, including Ngillangilla I. (510'), which is separated from the main island by a narrow channel, is composed of upraised coral limestone. This continues to be the dominant material south and eastward as far as the two deep bays on the N.E.. On the east side of these the forested limestone cliffs are abruptly replaced by rounded grassy hills. These continue until close to the south end which is a narrow limestone ridge. The small islets to the N.W. are limestone. Yanu Yanu, on the S.E. is of volcanic material. The highest peak, Koro Mbasabga (930) and the summits of one or two other peaks of volcanic material are covered with an open growth of forest, similar to that on the high volcanic islands of Matuku, Moala, and Totoya.

361 [423] All of the villages, about 14 in number, are located in the volcanic portion of the island. Nambavatu, in the N.W., is a private estate. Several of the villages were not visited during our short stay, but their populations are tabulated under the Census of Lau.

[648] [344] [368] [177] [563] Lomaloma, with the residence of the District Commissioner, the courthouse, a large native church and a few European homes, is situated toward the S.E. end of the island. The northern half of the village (Lomaloma) is Fijian; the southern half (called Sawana) is Tongan, with a separate Buli (chief) and its own city government. The two parts have a combined population of 272. The harbor is well [13] protected, on the east by the islet of Yanu Yanu, and on the N. and S. by outjutting reefs, leaving a small natural basin. In former times [366] Lomaloma was a a large and commercially important place, with several hotels and stores. To it came the old sailing vessels from all parts [439] of the world after copra and native produce from all Lau. But with

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

174 It is thus that the Tongans were first driven
797 here, with the important result that in after years early white missionaries from Tonga were able to introduce Christianity and civilization, with the help of descendants of these first native colonists who had kept up an intercourse with their brethren in Tonga. It is thus, indeed, that the first white men—"gods who ate fire," as the natives called them—set foot in these islands from an unknown ship wrecked on the Bukatatanoa reef, towards the close of the eighteenth century. And from the Lau Islands all these influences passed on to Fiji itself.

131 The Lau group is scattered between 16° and 21° south latitude, and 178° and 180° west longitude—even at certain places extending well over the border into east longitude—or, roughly, two hundred and fifty miles long by one hundred and fifty miles broad. Thus they cover an ocean area of some thirty thousand square miles, though they are themselves, compared to other lands, mere specks in the ocean; the largest being but twenty-five miles long—and that length only because of its somewhat curved shape.

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648] Nevertheless they have a great importance from three points of view:

134 (*a*) *Utilitarian*, because they are by nature
245 endowed with the choicest soil for coco-nut cultivation, which is made full use of, and thus

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

they are a most valuable asset to the great copra industry of Fiji;

(*b*) *Political*, because the whole question of the cession of the rich Colony of Fiji to Great Britain at one time depended on the famous Ma'afu, who had by sheer force of character and personality made himself King of the Lau Islands (and well on the road to being King of Fiji); and also because it is to a large extent on the example of the more intellectual and higher type of Lau islander that the future of the native races of Fiji depends; and

(*c*) *Scientific*, because many questions of ethnology and theories of the migrations of the peoples of the Pacific are interlaced with our attempts to trace the origin of the early inhabitants of the Lau Islands.

Now, there are many conflicting views as to the great "drifts" or movements which undoubtedly took place among the early natives in different directions across the Pacific. The simplest form of "drift" would be somewhat as follows: A party of men and women, perhaps thirty or forty, would start out one fine morning in a canoe—well stocked with provisions for the day—for a fishing expedition to some islet, perhaps a dozen miles away. While on their way one of the sudden storms of the Pacific would arise from the direction of their home and carry them

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date)1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

SOUTH SEA MAGIC.

We were running along the coast in smooth water beneath the high cliffs of Vanua Balavu, the northernmost island of the Lau Group—a group whose scattered islets dot the sun-kissed Pacific over a stretch of two hundred miles between the colony of Fiji and the island kingdom of Tonga. It was a sunny afternoon, and, reclining on a long chair on the deck of the little government yacht that carries the District Commissioner about on his multifarious duties, *I was drowsily listening to the throbbing of the* engines when I noticed one of the crew, a fuzzy-headed convict, gazing intently at a little bay between the cliffs. (The crew of the government yacht are always made up from the gaol, and this plan works excellently, as the Lauans are born sailors, and under the firm discipline of an experienced captain, and with a warder always on board with them, there is never any trouble to be feared. Indeed, most of them are gaol-birds of but mild hue, with wings temporarily clipped for comparatively trifling offences, petty larceny

10:St. Johnston G-5 (no date) 1918
OQ6 Lau OQ6

war-club. Again he entered the pulpit and addressed the men of the town, and again were they *via via levu* and laughed when he spoke.

"Great, then, was his anger, and he pulled off his white shirt—for he had on a foreign shirt which a missionary had given him—and stood upright in the pulpit, very fierce, and, holding aloft his club, 'Men of Mabula,' he cried, scornfully, 'if ye will not listen to my Bible, the Bible of the *lotu*, ye shall at least listen to the bible of Tui Lakeba' (the god of Lakeba); and he banged the club on the pulpit so that he almost broke the desk. Then were the men of Mabula much afraid and remained silent, and listened to his words; and never again did they mock in the church, for he warned them that *he would* return and beat them should such report reach him.

"But the Mabula people were ever unruly and turbulent; and I have heard that in the old days when the white chiefs first came here to plant cotton, and placed wire fences around their lands, the men of Mabula were for ever cutting these fences and stealing. So that once it was decided to teach them a lesson, and Misi Emesoni[1] (Emberson) assembled all the whites together, armed, and with them all their labourers from Tanna[2]

[1] Afterwards the Hon. Mr. Emberson, Receiver-General of the Colony.
[2] In the New Hebrides.

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whom they supplied with muskets, and surrounded the town of Mabula. Then they advanced and called a meeting; and after telling them why they had come they took three of the men who had done these things most often and flogged them before the whole town, and also burnt their houses; and for many years afterwards no more wire was cut on this island."

At this point the track led suddenly round a corner on to the beach again, and a white crane and its mate, a black one, who had been busy searching the reef pools for small fish, flew off with loud "caws" from almost under our horses' feet.

"Io, Belo!" cried Wiliami, "our horses shall not *tama*[1] with you like the men of Yacata did."

"And what made the Yacata people *tama* with a belo,[2] Wiliami?" I laughed.

"No one knows, sir," he rejoined; "but 'tis said that some men of Yacata Island were one day paddling a canoe beneath the cliffs at the back of Vanua Balavu, and when they came suddenly to the gap that separates it from Na Malata Island they heard what they thought was a loud *tama* from round the corner. They at once stopped paddling and leaned forward, heads down, to join in the respect that was evidently being paid to some big chief, when to their surprise

[1] Pay homage of respect.

[2] Crane.

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white *tappa* that was spread out before the house on the level green turf. When she had comfortably settled herself down and lit the inevitable *suluka*, I asked her to tell me something of Dakuwaqa, and the other gods whom I had heard her mention from time to time.

"It is not for me to say much of Dakuwaqa," she began; "for are we not of the *lotu dina*[1] now? Even before I was born had the earliest missionary arrived at Lakeba. Though it was not till Tui Tubou's[2] visit—for which I helped to cook the feast—that most of this island were converted. I can only tell you what I have heard from our fathers and of what I myself remember when I was a girl.

"You must know, sir, that we of Northern Lau are of one kin with the people of Vanua Levu (Fiji), and until "the hoisting of the flag"[3] we paid tribute to the Lords of Cakaudrove as our masters. But the men of Lakeba Island (who were also the rulers of all the islands to the south) never paid tribute to Cakaudrove, and were lords in their own right. And this is the story of how it came about.

"It was said that Tokairabe, the son of the god Tutumatua or Tui Lakeba, by the goddess Liku Cava, had made some magic fish-hooks

[1] True faith.
[2] The King of Tonga, who came on an evangelical mission to Fiji in 1853.
[3] Cession to Great Britain.

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assuming the shape of a bird, he flew after Dakuwaqa across the seas. Fast swam the shark-god, but faster flew Tui Vutu, until at last, near Vanua Balavu Island, the race was run, and Tui Vutu grasped the necklace and set off home. And for a reward Tokairabe gave Tui Vutu the rank of Mataivalu Kalou, so that he was ever afterwards given the first place in all things.

"And never again did Tokairabe take his *salu salu* into the water with him, so that to this day the people of Lakeba take no tribute to Cakaudrove, whereas we of Vanua Balavu still carry yearly gifts there.

"Now, even before the flag-hoisting, the *Konisela*[1] had come to this town and at a meeting had decided that the over-lordship of the Northern Isles should go to Maafu, Lord of Lau, and that Tui Cakau of Cakaudrove should no longer hold claim to them; and when the *matanitu*[2] arrived the over-lordship passed to it in turn; and it was only our ancient love of custom that caused us of the Northern Isles still to carry annual gifts to Cakaudrove.

"And thus it came about that not so many years ago old Akuila Toro, Chief of Mualevu—whom I saw out on the *rara*[3] but yesterday—sailed one day to Taveuni to bear his annual *sevu*[4] to Tui Cakau; and his ship, a fine schooner

[1] The British Consul, Capt. Jones, V.C. [2] British Government.
[3] Village green. [4] Offerings.